

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SS-20 NSC-07 IO-14 OIC-04

AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /115 W
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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5876

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T USNATO 2868

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: LINK BETWEEN PHASES: REVIEW PROVISION

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: A. STATE 107907 B. USNATO 2739 C. BONN 08103

D. LONDON 06398 E. VIENNA 4482

1. MISSION APPRECIATES REASONING IN REF A ON RESUMPTION OF WORK
ON SECTION V REVIEW PROVISION. MISSION NOTED IN PARA 2 OF REF B
ITS OWN ASSUMPTION THAT ALLIES AT SOME POINT WOULD RESUME WORK
ON SECTION V. HOWEVER, WE ARE CONCERNED WITH TIMING OF INTRODUCING
NEW LANGUAGE AUTHORIZED IN REF A IN LIGHT OF REPORTS FROM POSTS IN
SECRET

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THE PAST FEW DAYS WHICH CORROBORATES MISSION'S OWN INFORMATION AS
TO THINKING OF KEY ALLIES.

2. BONN HAS REPORTED IN REF C THAT RUTH MADE A PARTICULAR POINT

THAT PRESENT SECTION V REVIEW PROVISION IS SUFFICIENT FOR PRESENT
"IN VIEW OF SOVIET STONEWALLING PENDING CSCE CONCLUSION."

3. LONDON REPORTED IN REF D THAT TICKELL MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE
SAW NO NEED TO REOPEN ALLIANCE DISCUSSION OF THE PRESENT REVIEW
PROVISION. BEGIN NOFORN THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT UK MISSION
OFFICER HERE HAS TOLD US OF AMBASSADOR ROSE'S RECOMMENDATION TO
LONDON, I.E. THAT HE HOPED THIS BATTLE WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE FOUGHT
AGAIN SINCE HE BELIEVED THE PRESENT GUIDANCE IS SUFFICIENT TO PERMIT
THE SOVIETS TO ASSUME THEY CAN WITHDRAW AS A RESULT OF THE REVIEW
END NOFORN.

4. VIENNA HAS REPORTED (REF E) BELGIAN AHG REP'S RELUCTANCE
TO USE
EVEN THE PRESENT REVIEW PROVISION AT ALL. NETHERLANDS REP HERE
TOLD US MAY 24 THAT DUTCH GOVERNMENT POSITION REMAINS AS STATED BY
HARTOGH IN NAC, I.E. THAT DUTCH HAD WANTED SECTION V DELETED AND
AGREED ONLY TO PRESENT REVISED VERSION. DUTCH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT
WANT TO RAISE REVIEW PROVISION WITH EAST AT THIS TIME.

5. THERE THUS REMAINS, AS WASHINGTON NOTED IN REFTTEL A, CONSIDERABLE
ALLIED RESISTANCE (AT LEAST UK, FRG, NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM, ITALY)
TO RESUMING WORK ON SECTION V NOW. PROBLEM IS NOT, HOWEVER, SIMPLY
ONE OF CONTENDING WITH CLEAR ALLIED RESISTANCE BUT RATHER
THAT RESUMING WORK ON SECTION V PREMATURELY MIGHT REDUCE FLEXIBILITY
WHICH AHG NOW ENJOYS TO USE PROVISION AT TIME OF ITS CHOOSING AND
MIGHT RESULT IN ALLIED INTERPRETATIONS OF REVIEW PROVISION LESS
FAVORABLE THAN ROSE, FOR EXAMPLE, FEELS HIMSELF ABLE TO MAKE. IN
SHORT, RE-OPENING THE ISSUE NOW MIGHT AT LEAST TEMPORARILY ENCUMBER
USDEL MBFR AND AHG WITH MORE INHIBITIONS ON USE OF PART V THAN
IS NOW THE CASE.

6. IT IS CLEAR THAT BELGIAN REP IN NAC (AND POSSIBLY DUTCH
AND ITALIAN REPS AS WELL) AGREED TO MORE THAN HIS GOVERNMENT
WOULD HAVE LIKED WITH RESPECT TO THE REVIEW PROVISION. THE
RESULT OF OUR TRYING TO FORCE A DECISION NOW COULD BE INCREASED
OPPOSITION TO USING THE REVIEW FORMULA WITH THE USSR AT ANY
SECRET

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EARLY DATE. WE NOTE THAT SOME ALLIES ALREADY WISH TO DEFER ITS
USE TO END JUNE OR EARLY JULY (REF C). THIS TENDENCY WOULD BE
REINFORCED, IN OUR JUDGMENT, BY TRYING TO MAKE MORE PRECISE THAT
WHICH IS ALREADY IMPLIED. FURTHERMORE, IF THE ALLIES CANNOT
AGREE NOW TO THE ADDED SENTENCE DESIRED BY WASHINGTON AND USDEL
MBFR, THERE COULD ALSO BE SOME ADDED DIFFICULTY IN VIENNA WIHT
LETTING THE SOVIETS MAKE THE NATURAL ASSUMPTION THAT A REVIEW
PROVISION IS INTENDED TO PERMIT SOME REDRESSAL OF A DISADVANTAGEOUS
SITUATION.

7. WE SEE TWO WAYS IN WHICH THE PRESENT SECTION V COULD BE USED
WITH THE OTHER SIDE. ONE WAY WOULD BE TO SEE IF OVER A PERIOD OF
TIME THE SOVIETS WILL NOT NATURALLY ASSUME THAT SECTION V MEANS

THEY COULD WITHDRAW FROM THE PHASE I AGREEMENT. A SECOND WAY WOULD BE TO SEE WHETHER THE SOVIETS DO NOT ASK FOR A DEFINITE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER SECTION V MEANS THEY COULD WITHDRAW. IN EITHER CASE, THIS WOULD HELP OVERCOME SOME OF THE PRESENT OBJECTIONS AMONG KEY ALLIES TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SECTION V.

8. MISSION WILL, OF COURSE, INTRODUCE NEW WASHINGTON GUIDANCE EARLY IN WEEK COMMENCING MAY 27, IF THIS IS DESIRED. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE GREATFUL, IF WASHINGTON COULD, IN THE MEAN-TIME, REVIEW THE CONSIDERATIONS OUTLINED ABOVE.
MCAULIFFE.

SECRET

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